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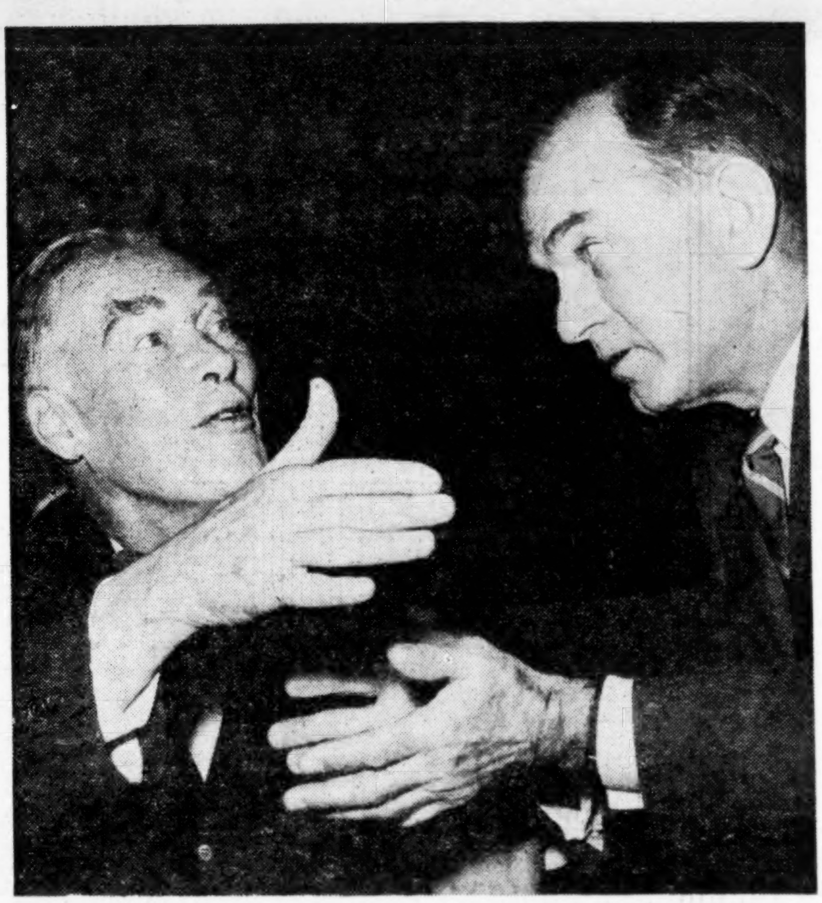

THE NEW BOY APPLIES FOR A FULBRIGHT SCHOLARSHIP
Secy. of State Christian Herter, shuttling between Paris, Walter Reed Hospital, the golfing green at Gettysburg and the Senate, will get his first test in the big time at Geneva. Above, he is shown with Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.)

13 BILLS WOULD NEGATE RULINGS

Witch-hunters in conspiracy to overthrow Supreme Court

WHILE MOST of the nation put the clock ahead for daylight saving time, there were those in Washington who would turn it back to the darkest hours of the witch-hunt. They drew up legislation specifically designed to overturn recent Supreme Court decisions affirming civil liberties. The American Bar Assn. sanctioned the measures and called on Congress last February to curb the High Court.

On April 20 Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) and Kenneth J. Keating (R-N.Y.), sitting as the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, opened hearings on 13 bills; seven were introduced by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.). The proposals would do the following:

- Change the interpretation of the word "organize" in the Smith Act to include not only the initial establishment of the Communist party, but practically any subsequent action performed in any unit of the party. Under the current interpretation, the Supreme Court in 1957 (Yates decision) freed five California Communist leaders and ordered new trials for nine others. This bill passed the House in March by unanimous vote.
- Expand the scope of the Smith Act by enlarging the definition of the term "advocacy," limited by the Court in the Yates decision.
- Declare that an Act of Congress does not pre-empt a field of government activity from the states unless the law specifically says so, or when state and federal laws conflict. It would apply to past as well as future laws. One major effect

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THE FOREIGN MINISTERS CONVENE

Geneva meeting seen as setting the stage for Big Four summit

By Kumar Goshal

THE EYES OF THE WORLD in the second week of May once again were hopefully focused on Geneva, where the foreign ministers of the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain and France gathered to explore the possibilities of a fruitful summit meeting. Everywhere among the peoples of the world there was a deep desire for relaxation of international tensions, for an assurance that mankind can settle down to enjoy the benefits of modern technology without fear of nuclear war.

From Paris and London: Geneva specials, pp. 6-7

Before the Geneva meeting, the Western Big Three and West Germany had conferred in Paris, and the Warsaw Pact members, together with a representative of China, in Warsaw. Reports of these meetings did not seem to promise great progress at Geneva.

THE DISAGREEMENTS: East and West still seemed to be far apart. Washington, Bonn and Paris apparently had pressured London into accepting German reunification as the basic frame of reference for all negotiations; the socialist countries preferred to leave the problem of a united Germany to the East and West Germans themselves.

The Western powers were willing to agree to an arms limit, fully inspected, in a Central European zone, which would be expanded as there was progress on German reunification; the Warsaw Pact nations stood for disengagement without ties to reunification and peace treaties with both East and West Germany.

Washington and its allies wanted to maintain the status quo in Berlin until it became the capital of a reunited Germany; Moscow and its allies proposed to make West Berlin a free city, with the UN and the Big Four powers guaranteeing its contacts with West Germany.

HOPE FOR COLLAPSE: It was obvious that the West was proposing the kind of "package deal" which British Labor Party leader Aneurin Bevan had suggested would insure failure at Geneva. U.S. haste in negotiating missile bases in Italy, Greece and Turkey and in transferring the Baghdad Pact base to Turkey (now that Baghdad has dropped out of it), coupled with the package deal, seemed to indicate that Washington was still hoping for the collapse of the socialist governments under Western military pressure.

But voices were increasingly being raised against U.S. policy, sometimes from unexpected quarters. In a Senate debate on the foreign aid program, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Fulbright offered amendments to reduce military aid to Washington's allies and increase economic assistance. He was supported by Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.). The N.Y. **Times** said, April 25:

"The Fulbright amendments reflect the discontent of powerful Senate Democrats with the present heavy emphasis on military assistance in the aid program."

A "BURNING CRUCIBLE": Speaking

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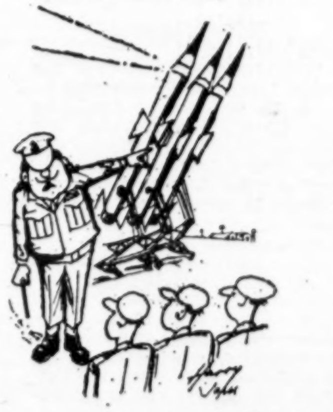


Reynolds News, London
" 'Ere they are, the defence of the Western 'emisphere, so get polishing."

The new pattern of violence: An editorial statement

PROGRESS COMES HARD in this time of breathtaking technological change. By progress we do not mean a $5,000 American kitchen to be exhibited at the Moscow Fair; nor a jet plane which will take you from New York to San Francisco comfortably in time for lunch.

We speak of progress in human terms—of individuals yearning to be free and equal, of nations seeking to determine their own future, of people desperately hoping for a time to live in peace, to raise their children without a Geiger counter by the milk pitcher.

Is it so much that is being asked? In our country the Negro people ask the whites: "Who will be harmed if we walk among you as equals?" The dissenter says: "Why is there such fear of debate?" In Africa and in Asia, the leaders of the people ask: "Did you not fight your own revolution to be free, to pursue happiness in your own way? Is it wrong for us to do as you did?" In Europe and in Asia, on vast mainland territories and on tiny offshore islands people ask: "Are there not bombs enough already to poison and burn all the peoples of the earth? Is it so hard for intelligent men with feelings, and with families, to sit down and declare peace?"

IT IS NOT TOO MUCH TO ASK. Yet, despite the urgency of the questions and the seemingly simple answers, there is growing in our midst—and the "free world" over—a pattern of violence, mental and physical, which threatens both the human and the material progress we have made with such painful effort.

This issue of the GUARDIAN puts the danger, and the hope, as the foreign ministers gather in Switzerland and as the 86th Congress reaches its halfway mark. This is what we see:

- In the South, five years almost to the week since the Supreme Court's decisions on integration of the schools, a Mississippi lynching makes the headlines again; and behind the headlines there emerges a pattern of violence which is perhaps more frightening in its implications than the overt face of hate in Poplarville.
- In Africa, from the top of the continent to the bottom—and bottom is the word—the white man, having learned almost nothing, shifts his profitable burden to free his whip hand to keep the Africans in what

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Youth Lobby needs $$

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The April 18 Youth March was a great success. More than 27,000 Negro and white young people gathered in our nation's capital in the largest youth demonstration in our nation's history.

The White House received a delegation and the President went further than he has ever gone before when he promised that he would not rest so long as vestiges of segregation exist. Four hundred thousand signatures, urging speedy and orderly integration of schools, were collected and delivered to Congress.

The 27,000 youth voted to press for the passage of the Douglas Civil Rights Bill. Plans are now under way to set up a Youth Lobby in Washington to help achieve this end. Certainly the brutal lynching of 23-year-old Mack Charles Parker in Mississippi reveals how important the passage of the Douglas Bill is. And beyond this, it indicates how right and significant it is to give young Americans the the means to speak clearly to government on great social issues of our time.

However, unless we can raise $6,000 quickly, we cannot proceed with the Youth Lobby. Will you help?

Bayard Rustin, Coordinator, Youth March for Integrated Schools, 312 W. 125th St., New York 27, N.Y.

Ironical

MAPLEWOOD, N.J.

As a participant in the March for Integration, I was very disappointed to find that it received almost no publicity in the big papers.

In your article on the March, you mention that the N.Y. **Times** had "played it down." It is ironical that in an April 21 editorial (three days after the March) the **Times** said: "If any news vehicle distorts, misrepresents or suppresses, it betrays its trust."

High school student

Not accidental

CHICAGO, ILL.

Louis Burnham's report on the Youth March in Washington on April 18 was very informative and filled in much that our teen-agers who were there, may have missed. It was wonderful to read of the thousands of our young folk coming from so many parts of our country to show their understanding and the need to raise all peoples to a position of equality and recognized dignity which must be an integral part of the lives of all in a truly democratic society. It is good to read of the school and student groups that were present. Also, about the church and trade union support.

Also, there was the unity with the Negro people expressed by such groups as our Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago; and progressive teen-agers who were present and who earlier helped circulate the thousands of petitions that brought the meaning of the March to hundreds of thousands of Americans across the land.

It is not accidental that the youthful throng, listening to A. Philip Randolph, knew when to applaud him when he talked of equality, and when to "sit on their hands" when he followed the Cold War line of the State Dept.

Leo Berman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

How does one go about praying negatively? One experimenter resorted to calling her seedlings Communists. "To her that is an epithet of disdain, scorn and active dislike. Those poor seeds seemed to twist and writhe under the negative power showered on them."

—**Time** magazine, 4/13, in a review of **The Power of Prayer on Plants.**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: S. F., Melrose Park, Pa.

The Tibet story

GLEN ELLEN, CALIF.

Emmett Baker Groseclose (April 27) calls himself a "socialist" but employs a vocabulary reminiscent of the editorials of **Time** magazine. The Tibetan incident is a "brutal attack upon the peace-loving people of Tibet by the imperialistic totalitarian government of Red China." He even talks of "decadent communism" and the "Soviet Reds." Strange language for a socialist!

He has chosen to drag in the Hungarian uprising, extolling the leaders of that murderous rampage as fellow socialists. I refer him to the photographs appearing in **Life** magazine at that time: Were these hangings and shootings the work of "freedom fighters"? I enclose a tribute to their gallant efforts which should match E.B.G.'s "radical" sentiments.

Homage to those who with a hangman's rope
battled for freedom on the barricades,
who conjured up the ancient fires of hope
with gasoline and holy hand grenades.
Salute them, let no child of yours believe
these were the vessels of such hoary hate
as made a hundred generations grieve
under the yoke of priest and potentate.
What should a thousand years of terror weigh
against a dozen years' humiliation
for such as Providence could not betray
except by base connivance of the base?
Cast down, the godly yet shall rule the nation
and murder resume its ancient godly place.

George Hanlin

'An ugly minority'

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If E.B.G. would really be interested in learning how the Tibetan peasants and workers were living under subjugation and slavery he should read the various reports in the N.Y. **Times** or the GUARDIAN articles written by Anna Louise Strong. Would he rather see a continuance of torture and murders by an ugly minority of self-proclaimed Lamas?

Would he rather see in Hungary Cardinal Mindszenty's fascist revolt, returning the country to a Horthy or a Franco?

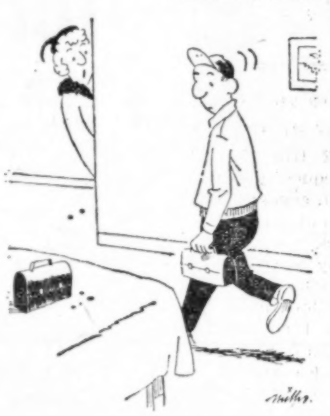
Paul Paisner

Un-godlike

ERWIN, TENN.

If this Dalai Lama is really the divine personification that Secretary Herter seems to think him, he ought to behave in more of a godlike manner. If he had to vamoose, then he should at least have gone up in a big fiery puff of smoke and come down in India in a whirlwind.

Ernest Seeman



Oil Union News, Denver

"I have to go out . . . your dinner's on the table."

Popular uprising?

CLAREMONT, CALIF.

You seem to be condemning the rebellion in Tibet as "the death struggle" of reactionism [We said "feudalism."—Ed]. Yet a popular uprising is a popular uprising, for whatever the cause. Apparently the Tibetan people do not want "progress" rammed down their throats by external domination, and they probably will not be made happier, whatever the material benefits, by being forced to accept it. The British have also carried progress into India and the French into Algeria, but there are better ways to do it.

In addition, your remarks concerning the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama indicate a complete lack of understanding and even lack of interest in understanding the viewpoint of the Tibetan people.

Gomer Thomas

More on C.I.A.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN series on the C.I.A. was most interesting. Here is an additional point:

When C.I.A. expenditures are hidden in the budget of other governmental agencies, not only are the C.I.A. figures secret, but the expenditures of the other agencies are inflated by an unknown amount. And we do not even know what other agencies are involved! Thus the entire Federal budget tells us only approximately what each department spends for its own use.

F. L. H.

Sen. Morse has placed one of the GUARDIAN articles on the C.I.A. in the Congressional Record of April 25. Ed.

Clear, precise, logical

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Congratulations for the excellent article on the conflict between Egypt and Iraq (April 20).

It is a long time since we had such a clear, precise and logical interpretation of world events. Let us hope that we shall read more and often from that pen.

O. J.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ONE YEAR AFTER ITS BIRTH Israel began to take stock of its relations with the rest of the world. Inside and outside the United Nations three attitudes exist regarding Israel:

The Arab states and Pakistan are definitely hostile. Armistice has been established between the Arab nations and Israel, but peace and cooperation do not exist.

Western European and Latin American nations are rather unconcerned. The United States, Australia, Guatemala, Uruguay, the Soviet Union and the Slav states supported Israel in various ways from the outset.

The United Kingdom is in a special category, partly hostile, partly envisaging economic exchanges.

Before the General Assembly convened it was no secret that Israel expected to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority vote necessary for its admission to the UN.

—The NATIONAL GUARDIAN, May 9, 1949

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Vol. 11, No. 30 401 May 11, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Youth on the march

OUR APRIL 27 ISSUE, featuring Louis E. Burnham's 2½-page story with pictures of the April 18 Youth March for Integrated Schools, is all gone except for our office file copies. The last to go, in response to hundreds of requests for extra copies, was our little stack of "returns" from New York newsstands—and many of the requests remain unfulfilled.

So we are preparing a four-page reprint of the story, including the April 27 frontpage picture and lead-in of Burnham's account, the two-page continuation with pictures which appeared on pages six and seven; and a back-page which will include a selection of the letters we have received on the March; the recent Spectator column by Cedric Belfrage reporting Paul Robeson's grand opening in **Othello** at the Stratford-on-Avon Shakespeare festival in England (see picture, p. 3) and a coupon inviting recipients to try the GUARDIAN for 13 weeks for $1.

WE WERE APPALLED—and so were most of the people who wrote or telephoned us—at the "brush-off" coverage or no coverage at all of the March in the big commercial papers. It seemed to us that upwards of 27,000 young people converging on their nation's capital in behalf of their country's loftiest democratic objective, was big news. Neither the Washington nor New York press agreed. We have not surveyed how the event was covered in the newspapers of other cities, but we gather from our mail that little or nothing appeared.

Yet college students attended from more than 100 campuses throughout the east and midwest; 16 busloads and no one knows how many private cars came from Philadelphia; seven buses and 15 automobiles from Chicago and two buses from Gary, Ind.; big delegations from Cleveland and Detroit; some 2,000 youngsters from Maryland and maybe half that number from Virginia; a huge contingent from New Jersey; groups from Delaware, North Carolina and even far-off Louisiana.

There were in all 134 buses in addition to 300 from greater New York; and an estimated 2,700 came by train from all directions. Just the preparations alone, for handling so mighty an influx without mishap or major incident, should have made news. And certainly each of the 27,000 people participating—and the folks at home who collected the tired but exhilarated youngsters off the returning buses in the early hours of Sunday morning—would have treasured a straightforward account in their home town newspapers of this biggest event of its kind in the country's history.

SO YOU TELL US how many you want of our reprints of our Youth March picture story, and we'll send them to you FREE, as fast as we can mail them out. If you want to send a contribution to help with the reprinting, postage and shipping, we'll be glad to accept it.

But this is not a play for contributions; we have undertaken this because we think every youngster who went on the March will appreciate having a colorful, pictorial news account of the great day; and we believe GUARDIAN subscribers in each of the communities which sent delegations will enjoy passing on the GUARDIAN story to their friends.

Anybody else who wants a supply—for a union local, race relations groups, discussion club or whatever—just drop us a note saying how many. We honestly hope enough requests come in to send us into extra editions of our Youth March reprint. Let's hear from YOU.

WE ARE NOT reprinting our special 24-page May 4 Spring Book issue, so it is first come—first served, for our remaining supply of extra copies. The pile of extras was down to fewer than 1,500 as we went to press this week; and requests were still coming in. If you can distribute some, write now. They are free to subscribers.

—THE GUARDIAN

Detroit's new bookshop

DETROIT, MICH.

Detroit readers of the GUARDIAN will be interested to know that Detroit has a new progressive bookshop.

Opened Saturday, May 9, Global Books will have on hand a wide variety of books not often found in most bookshops. Included will be the latest in Negro history and folklore, the latest from the socialist countries, wholesome books for children, selected American fiction and non-fiction, and Marxist classics.

I invite Detroit's GUARDIAN readers and friends to our opening. The shop is on the second floor, 4829 Woodward, near Wayne State U.

F. R. Dixon

The entire world

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The best weekly newspaper published here in the U.S.A.! It is our hope that you will continue publication and so assist in the plain people's efforts to bring to the entire world pure democracy.

H. Wakefield

THE HOUSE MAY MAKE IT WORSE

Senate labor bill contains government curbs on unions

By Robert E. Light

EVER SINCE Sen. McClellan and the Kennedy Brothers pitched their tent as the Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor-Management Field, it was clear that their purpose was to create an anti-labor climate that would facilitate passage of legislation to curb unions. At first the AFL-CIO opposed the circus and president George Meany affirmed the traditional union principle that labor does not need special governmental control to manage its own house. Independent unions, including John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, also took this stand.

But assured that Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) would write a mild "labor reform" bill and that one was necessary for "good public relations," AFL-CIO leaders capitulated in short order. To prove they were as "anti-corruption" as any, they expelled the 1,500,000-member Teamsters union. In return Kennedy's bill carried a few minor changes in the Taft-Hartley Act that labor wanted. The bill passed the Senate last June with one dissenting vote, but it was killed in the House where some felt it would make a hot campaign issue.

THE JOLT: But in November, politicians who banked on anti-labor sentiment received a jolt. Voters seemed more interested in curbing the recession than in curbing unions. Active campaigns defeated anti-labor "right-to-work" laws in five states and, in the nation generally, helped elect a Congress which some called "the most liberal since 1936."

Labor, it appeared, could look for sympathetic support from the 86th Congress. But to date not a single pro-labor law has been passed. Congressional leaders, it seems, have been holding back all social legislation until the principle of "labor reform" has been established. AFL-CIO leaders, already committed to the proposition that the house of labor needs a cleaning, could at best hope only that the detergent would be mild.

OVER-CONFIDENT: On April 21 Kennedy's bill came up for debate in the Senate. Efforts in committee by some Republicans and McClellan to toughen the measure had been easily defeated. Sponsors were so certain of its passage, more or less intact, that Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) left for Canada and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) was in Oregon lining up support for his Presidential bid. The Senate floor was left as a showcase for Kennedy to display his talents as a director.

An amendment to eliminate the labor sweeteners in the bill was quickly beaten. But McClellan in a two-hour impassioned appeal offered as an amendment a seven-point "bill of rights" for union members. It would regulate in complex detail the conduct of internal union affairs and empower the Secy. of Labor to seek court injunctions to restrain union officials whenever he claimed the "rights" of the membership were "about to be" violated.

The McClellan amendment passed 47-46. A motion to reconsider ended in a tie, 45 to 45, which was broken by Vice President Nixon in McClellan's favor. Kennedy, aided by AFL-CIO legislative director former Rep. Andrew Biemiller, scrambled to regroup forces. He warned that McClellan's proposals would make the bill "a tool of Communists, employer stooges and trouble-makers."

Workers, arise! You've nothing to lose but your unions

IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY true that collective bargaining frequently benefits the members of the union engaged therein. I can see also that, not infrequently, an organization of bank robbers could benefit their members by teaching them effective methods of robbing banks, but does that justify permission to organize bank robbers who utilize their collective skills to marked advantage? . . . Is organization for anti-social purposes ever legitimate? . . . In my opinion, collective bargaining, by promoting unemployment, is certainly decidedly injurious to the working class.

—Willford I. King, economist,
in **Spiritual Mobilization**

LYNDON'S BOYS: Some saw the sly hand of another presidential hopeful, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.), in the voting. They pointed out that two of "Lyndon's boys" had voted with McClellan. Johnson cried: "Lies, lies, lies," at the accusations. But the fact remained that the vote belittled Kennedy's organizational ability and embarrassed Humphrey.

In Oregon, as Humphrey boarded a plane for Washington, he announced: "Humphrey is going back to help Kennedy." But by the time he reached the Senate, his support was not needed. Johnson, the compromiser, had taken a hand. His office, through Sen. Olin Johnston (D-S.C.), circulated a memo to all Southern Senators pointing out that the injunction power they had granted to the Secy. of Labor could be used to force segregated unions to integrate.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A MAN GETS A FORBIDDEN PASSPORT

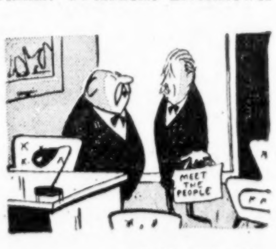
Paul Robeson drinks a toast with Sam Wanamaker and Mary Ure after the opening of "Othello" in Stratford, England. It was a triumph for art and human good will.

A compromise "bill of rights" was quickly drawn up and a coalition of liberals and Southerners passed it as a substitute for McClellan's proposals. When the full bill came for a vote only Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) opposed it.

WHAT IT DOES: Some of the bill's main provisions are:

- Unions must file voluminous reports on finances and other "internal processes."
- The Secy. of Labor is empowered to investigate union affairs if he believes the law is being violated.
- Union officers may be sued by rank-and-file members for misspending dues money. The **Wall Street Journal** said: "The courts may interpret this as a restraint on political activity by unions."
- Labor-management agreements providing that employers will not handle merchandise from struck plants are voided and their future use is barred.
- Employers must report payments to labor relations advisers, payments or loans to union officers and payments to workers for information about the union. Employers as well as union officers must file non-communist affidavits.
- In union representation elections, workers who are on strike may vote along with those who have replaced them. But organizational picketing is forbidden where the management has a contract with another union or has in the previous nine months recognized another union.
- Penalties for violations are from one to ten years in jail and up to $10,000 in fines.

SURRENDER OF PRINCIPLE: Republicans maneuvered to slip further anti-union measures through the Democrats' split ranks. President Eisenhower complained that Kennedy's bill was too weak. He wanted to add provisions that would further restrain picketing and secondary boycotts and turn over some areas of labor-management disputes to the states.



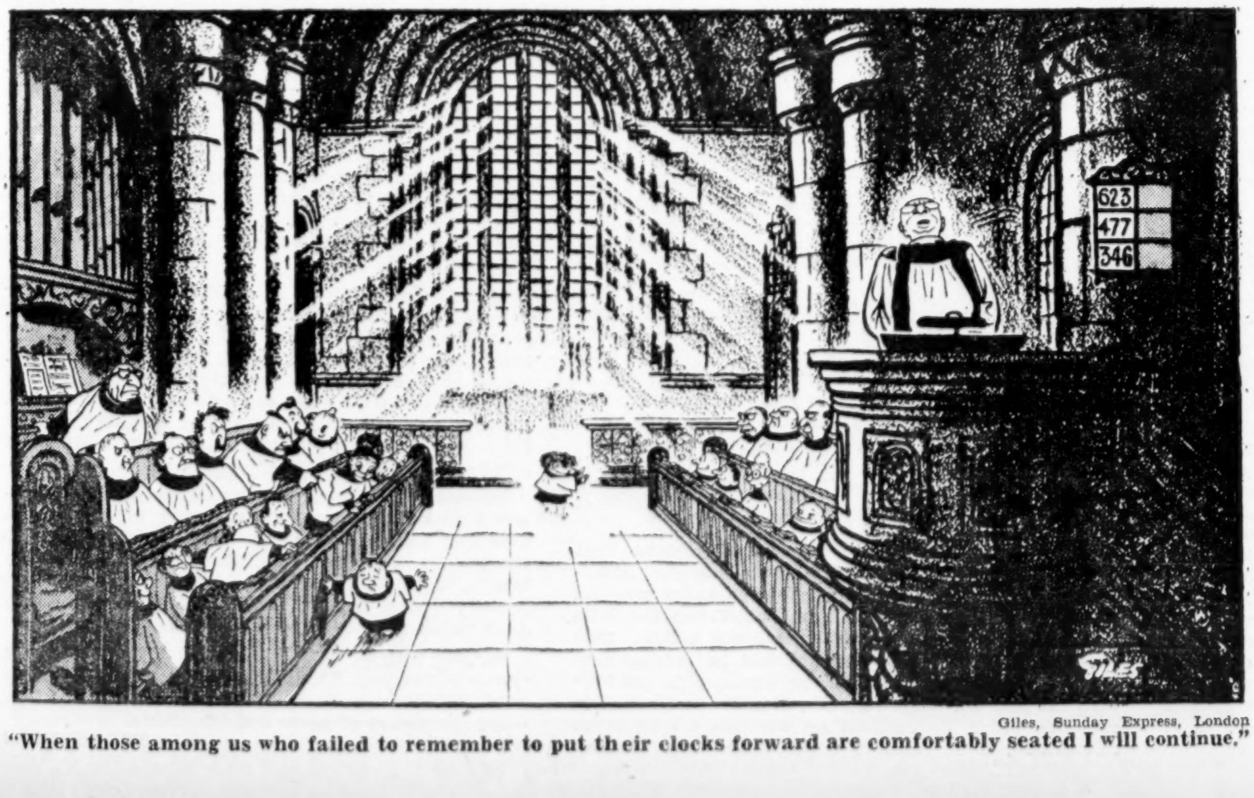
Eccles in London Worker

"Do you want to go right out on to the factory floor or meet the workers through my private peephole?"

Opportunity to offer these additions will come when the House Labor Committee opens several weeks of hearings on the bill. A House vote is not expected until mid-June.

But whatever the final legislation, it will be at best a hodge-podge of union harassments which will probably take years to clarify in the courts. More important is the surrender of basic principle by the AFL-CIO.

This was welcome to N.Y. **Herald Tribune** columnist Walter Lippmann who wrote: "The overriding national interest is that a bill should be passed which establishes the principle . . . that there is a public interest in the internal management of the labor unions, and the right to regulate them is legally recognized and universally accepted." He added: "This will not be the last bill to regulate the unions which is to come before Congress."



Giles, Sunday Express, London

"When those among us who failed to remember to put their clocks forward are comfortably seated I will continue."

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THE COLONIAL PATTERN DOESN'T CHANGE

One reply to freedom fight in Africa: Increased violence

THE INTENSIFICATION of the Africans' struggle for freedom has provoked frantic appeals by the West for nonviolence on the part of the Africans and increased use of violence against them by the colonial powers and the white settlers. From Algeria to the Union of South Africa, imperialists have shed their veneer of "Christian civilization" and are indulging in unrestrained brutality to maintain their power, profits and privileges.

President de Gaulle on April 30 gladdened the hearts of the French settlers by unequivocally declaring that Algeria would always remain an integral part of continental France. He also dismissed the National Liberation Front as unrepresentative of the Algerians and said that he alone could bring peace to the unhappy colony.

How peace was being brought to Algeria was described in a report to their bishops by 35 Catholic priests serving in the French army in Algeria. They spoke of "arbitrary arrests and imprisonments," extracting information by "torture," summary executions of civilian and military prisoners under the excuse that they were "attempting to escape," the killing of wounded Algerians rather than taking them as prisoners of war. The priests concluded: "To kill, to strike, to humiliate is becoming normal for too many young men."

KENYA: In Kenya, the government was perpetrating a form of violence no less abhorrent than physical brutality: humiliation, and violation of the basic rights and dignity of a human being. On April 14, African leader Jomo Kenyatta, an anthropologist, and four colleagues were released from prison after serving five years of a seven-year sentence. They had been convicted for allegedly leading "the Mau Mau rebellion."

But Kenyatta and his colleagues were not allowed to resume a normal life. They were confined indefinitely in miserable huts in the town of Lodwar in the most inaccessible desert region of Kenya. They have to obey a 7 p.m. to 6:30 a.m. curfew and report daily to the local police. Their mail is censored and visitors are screened by the district commissioner and the External Security Minister.

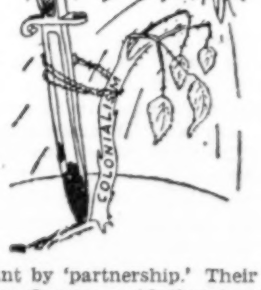
All this despite the fact that it was revealed last winter that they were victims of a frame-up. Rawson Macharia, a chief prosecution witness at Kenyatta's trial, admitted he had given false testimony in return for a government promise of a college education, a job and protection. The promise, he said, was never fulfilled. Macharia was sent to jail for having sworn falsely that he had lied at Kenyatta's trial. Kenya trade union leader Tom Mboya, now visiting the U.S., has demanded unconditional release of Kenyatta and his colleagues and a full inquiry of their trial.

CENTRAL AFRICA: Violence has not abated in Central Africa, as Cedric Belfrage reports from London:

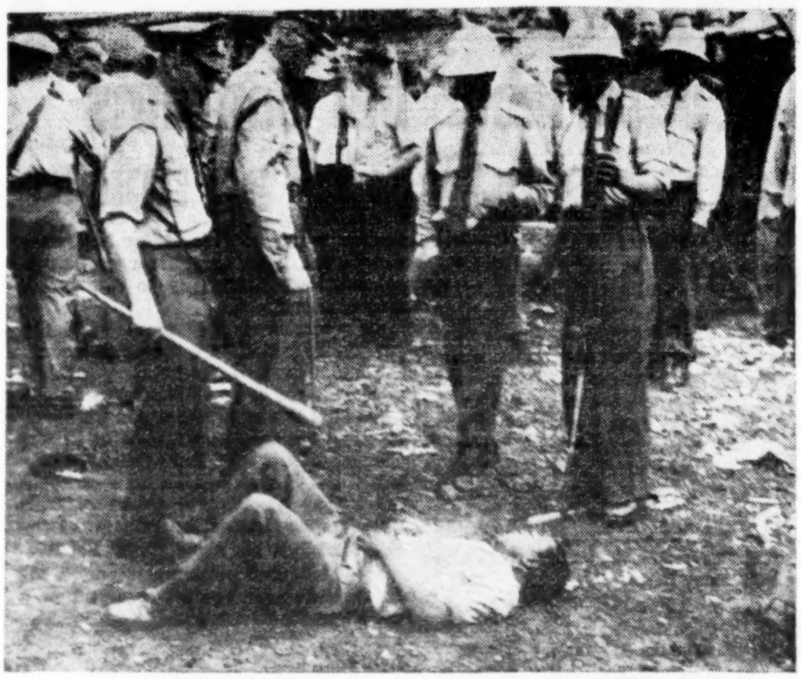
"While Colonial Secy. Lennox-Boyd made a ringing call here for 'multi-racial partnership' as an alternative to either 'black nationalism or apartheid,' savage suppression of African 'partners' continued in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. Since January, over 1,000 Africans have been arrested for the 'crime' of membership in the African Congress and sentences up to five years have been passed on the 'guilty.'

"But District Commissioners reported that the people are still 'insolent and uncooperative,' erecting road-blocks, holding unlawful meetings and burning the houses. af cooperating chiefs. The authorities were replying with collective fines ($2,800 fine imposed on 26 villages in the Zomba district alone) and 'compulsory labor' imposed on the populations of recalcitrant villages.

A LONGER "EMERGENCY": "In London, Lennox-Boyd told the Conservative Commonwealth Conference that 'chances were never brighter' for a model of 'multi-racial society' to be provided in Kenya. A Kenya delegation, mainly African, flew in seeking elucidation of what was meant by 'partnership.' Their leader Odinga Ogonga, said that important parts of Lennox-Boyd's policy 'deeply troubled' them. Lennox-Boyd said the policy was for 'Africans to play an increasingly important part in government, with the progress of education' which most Africans do not receive.



"In Southern Rhodesia the 'emergency' was extended for another month and five 'security bills' to deprive Africans of almost all rights were about to become law, despite vigorous protests by the church, bar and university leaders. Opponents of the bills outside parliament said they were even more stringent than South Africa's 'security' regulations."



ELECTION DAY IN S. AFRICA A YEAR AGO; IT'S WORSE NOW

In Johannesburg police have issued arms permits for the white minority

SOUTH AFRICA: Despite some set-backs in the courts, the South African government continues with cold savagery its policy of herding the Africans into restricted areas without endangering cheap labor supply for its industries and the homes of the whites.

A special court on April 20 quashed an indictment for lack of sufficient evidence against 61 of the 91 African, Asian, Colored (of mixed ancestry) and white defendants in South Africa's notorious "treason trial." The state has announced it will appeal the decision. Trial of the 30 has been postponed to Aug. 3.

On other fronts, the government has taken control of hospitals in non-white areas; banned the inter-racial status of the two universities that admitted African students, despite protests from the faculty; given the Labor Minister the right to specify what jobs non-whites may hold and what percentage of jobs must be reserved for whites in industries; invited industry to move to 57 towns near African settlements to ensure cheap labor supply and set up other African settlements within traveling distance of areas with white homes; and forbidden whites to serve on committees running African boys' clubs, prompting the Johannesburg **Star** to call this "apartheid gone mad."

OH, THAT NOISE! At the same time, police are beating up Africans without provocation, forcing many of them to go to white farms as "volunteer laborers" who work from sunrise to sunset for two plates of watery porridge. Caning of boys—some only eight years old—by the police has become so common that white businessmen in nearby buildings have complained their "conversations with important clients had been interrupted by the 'howling of somebody being thrashed' " (N.Y. **Times**, April 26). The police have promised to transfer the beatings to sound-proof basements.

The Africans, Asians and Coloreds are sticking to nonviolent means of protest, but their tempers are frayed to such an ominous degree that the Johannesburg police, for example, have issued 100.000 firearms permits among the 500,000 whites. For the present, the African, Asian and Colored organizations have called for a boycott starting June 26 of goods manufactured by apartheid supporters.

THE "SILENT" LANDS: The desire for freedom from political bondage and intolerable economic exploitation has spread to the highly propagandized "silent" lands—to the Belgian Congo, where the African's average annual income is $42 against the white's $2,646; to Portuguese Mozambique, where Africans forced to grow cotton average $11.17 per capita annually and cashew nut pickers earn $8.40 a month.

In the face of such exploitation the African has shown super-human patience. In London, South African Congress leader Kanyama Chiume—the only leader to escape arrest—said recently:

"We are not anti-white, or anti-British. We are anti-discrimination, anti-segregation, and anti-imperialism. These are artificial barriers to our natural development which will be removed, come what may."

Pattern of violence

(Continued from Page 1)

he deems to be their place.

- In Geneva, the foreign ministers of the capitalist world, package in hand, sit down with the foreign minister of the leading socialist nation. The package is tied with strings, and within each package is another package with still more strings. The Western ministers will talk of a unified Germany and their sacred trust to ensure its existence. To menace the Soviet Union and the world again? They say peace is in their package, but even as they talk their agents and their allies spread the pattern of violence: in Algeria and Kenya and the Congo, in Spain and Portugal, in Formosa and in South Korea, in every corner of the world where they still have the men and the guns to keep profit on the throne.
- In Washington, in the week in which a bust is dedicated to Senator McCarthy in Wisconsin, the frontmen for the profit-takers prepare another era of witch-hunting and repression, of economic and psychological terror for those Americans who object to the pattern of violence and who make known their views. And civil rights are pigeonholed.

HOW TRUE TO PATTERN IT IS that the articulate ones—or those who have easy access to the platform and prints—are the preachers of violence, however much they may cloak their words in righteousness.

Does a Walter Reuther, for example, speaking before half a million people in Berlin, really believe that the working people of America are ready to die for the right of Germany to do again what it did? Why did he not rather visit the museum at Dachau and weep before the memorial to the ashes of the murdered? And then talk to Berlin not of violence but of peace.

Do the mean minds in the Congress really believe that the nation wants to go back to McCarthy's time of the toad, even as there is still so much inherited mischief to be undone?

We refuse to believe, with all their outpouring, that these people speak for America. Inarticulate as America seems today, fumbling and confused as we may be, we do not believe we are all apathetic. Given the facts and the means to act on them, we believe that America will reject both violence and its propagators.

If a Linus Pauling could get the audience he deserves with his plea for atomic sanity; if a W. E. B. DuBois could be heard by millions on the bitter harvest of colonialism; if a Vermont Congressman like William Meyer had the means to rally the public support he needs in his crusade for peace—then the inarticulate ones would find their voice because they would find their leaders.

WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSION about the number of people the GUARDIAN can influence. But neither do we consider it an illusion that the people we reach are, or could be, among the most influential people in their communities. They know their history; they have had their experiences and have learned from them; they have read the portents and they see the future. For them the future is clear: it is freedom and peace—or destruction.

We insist that in the absence of a cohesive progressive political movement today, people must act however they can, in groups or as individuals, to destroy the pattern of violence. We believe, with Congressman Meyer, that the people are ahead of their so-called leaders, that given a chance 10,000,000 Americans and more would flock to the banner of a Peace Party.

For our part we will do our utmost to see that the chance is provided. For all of us, the need is to speak the word that there is an alternative to violence and fear—the alternative of peace and friendship.

—THE EDITORS

THE PATTERN OF VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH

Mississippi lynching and the untold horrors

By Louis E. Burnham

ON APRIL 24 C. R. Darden, Mississippi leader of the NAACP, told the House Subcommittee on Civil Rights: "The Mississippi Negro can expect no justice, freedom or equality from the state and local officials. Therefore we must look to the Congress to enact the necessary legislation to guarantee equal protection under the law."

Almost before Darden could return to his home state a mob of some 25 white men entered the jail at Poplarville, whipped Mack Charles Parker with pistol butts, clubs and a garbage can, dragged him screaming down three flights of stairs with his bloody head bouncing on every step, flung him into a waiting car and drove him off to a watery grave.

It was the first recorded lynching since 1955 and a perplexed and shamefaced nation tried to assess its meaning. Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers said the lynching had "revolted and stunned" the conscience of the country. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wondered "what has happened to us that we do not see in this kind of action the seeds that will bring destruction upon us all in the future?" Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) warned that the case would "add great propaganda fuel to the Communist pump."

THE COURT AS CRIMINAL: Southern reaction was less straightforward, and in some instances plainly hypocritical. Mississippi Sen. James O. Eastland felt forced to comment that he deplored violence in every section of the United States. Rep. William M. Colmer, whose district includes Poplarville, spoke in the same aimless sort of way: "Mob violence is deplored by all good citizens everywhere."

While pledging the state's resources to find and prosecute the lynchers, Gov. J. P. Coleman emphasized what he considered "conclusive" proof of Parker's guilt of the alleged crime of rape. And he stressed the hope that the South would not be "punished" by civil rights laws because of the misbehavior of a few lynchers.

Other Southern voices located Parker's enemies in Washington, not in the piney woods and swamplands of Southern Mississippi to which the lynch victim was presumed to have been spirited. The Dallas Morning **News** noted: "It is reasonable to trace to the Supreme Court of the United States a substantial part of the blame for the revival of lynching in Mississippi."

"LET'S FACE IT": Among Negroes the reaction was a curious blend of indignation and resignation. Long experience had taught them to expect the worst from Mississippi. The weekly Carolina **Times** of Durham, N.C., ruefully admitted: "We don't believe the persons responsible for this probable lynching will ever be apprehended and brought to trial. If they are, we do not believe that there is a jury of 12 white men in the entire state of Mississippi that will convict them."

One Negro observer told a New York reporter: "Let's face it. This is Mississippi. We can only take what the white man dishes out." The lynching was the 578th that Mississippi had dished out since Tuskegee Institute began keeping figures in 1882. This was more than for any other state in the nation. Texas and Georgia were not far behind with 493 and 491, respectively.

All three of the lynchings which occurred in 1955 took place in Mississippi. One of them involved the 14-year-old schoolboy, Emmett Louis Till; in the other two Lamar Smith and Rev. George Lee were killed because they tried to vote and urged other Negroes to do so.

HALF-STEP FROM SLAVERY: The reason for Mississippi's predisposition to violence is not hard to find. In its economy and politics the state has remained but a half-step removed from slave conditions. Almost 1,000,000 Negroes make up nearly half the population of the state. In the rich delta counties they are everywhere the majority, in some cases looming as large as 80% of the population.

The economy of the delta is feudal. Virtual peonage prevails on the large plantations. Based on their control of scores of thousands of Negro sharecroppers, the big landowners rise to almost undisputed power in the state government and to positions of great influence in national affairs. Sen. Eastland's position of eminence as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee has its source in his role as lord of a 6,000 acre delta plantation.

Though the economic conflict between the planters and the poor white farmers of the hills still underscores statewide political contests, the planters' view of the Negro as a sub-human object of exploitation prevails in all sections of the state and among all classes of white Mississippians. On the Negro question the planters have forged a virtually complete united front between rich and poor which mutes and distorts the conflicts which typify class relations elsewhere.

PROGRESS THROUGH FLIGHT: Mississippi's rural backwardness is mitigated by industrial development less than in any other state. The largest center of population, the capital city of Jackson, does not contain 100,000 residents. Not another city reaches 50,000, and only four others (Meridian, Biloxi, Greenville and Hattiesburgh) exceed 25,000.

For Negroes the only real escape from the oppression which is commonplace in Mississippi has been flight. In the last decade thousands have left to look for opportunity and freedom in Northern communities. Those who have remained have sought, under the leadership of the NAACP, to inch their way toward a better day in their native state.

Despite their most painful efforts, the conditions of Negroes have worsened, not improved, in recent years. Out of more than 500,000 of voting age, a bare 20,000 are registered to vote. Ordinarily the poll tax, economic sanctions or physical intimidation serve to keep half of these from the polls. As a result, 98% of the eligible Negroes in Mississippi have no part in government. In 11 delta counties where Negroes are 70% of the population not a single Negro is registered.

FORCE SYSTEM: The eruption of violence in Poplarville, seen in this social setting, simply highlighted the fact that the whole social system in Mississippi is a force system in its most repulsive sense. No other means but force could successfully maintain 1,000,000 people in such utter subjugation generation after generation. The single violent act reflects the sickness of the whole society as much as the sadistic impulses of a mob of hate-crazed men.

While no one expects Mississippi to revert to the barbarous days of the 1890's when lynchings occurred every 48 hours or better, the nation might well ask itself whether the Parker lynching is a portent of stepped-up anti-Negro violence throughout the South. The fact is that in the neighboring state of Alabama a reign of terror has gone unchecked for the past few years and has been little noticed by the nation's press.

While no lynchings have been reported, the series of crimes which have taken place have been less revolting only in the slightest degree. They have included castration, abduction, shooting, bombings and beatings. The reorganization of the Ku Klux Klan on a scale approximating its heyday in some sections of Alabama gives assurance that the atrocities are by no means at an end.

"THE PROSECUTOR": In Birmingham Claude Odom, a 42-year-old Negro worker, was walking along the street on April 13 when two white men in a car threw a whisky bottle at him. He protested. They turned around, jabbed a pistol in his back, forced him in the car and drove to Nashville, Tenn. There they beat him, robbed him of $258 and dumped him on a road. No trace has been found of these abductors.

Rev. Charles Billups was less fortunate. He is an active leader of the Ala. Christian Movement for Human Rights, headed by the militant Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth. He also works as a sandblast operator at the Hayes Aircraft Co., a concern that enjoys government contracts. On the job he has fought for upgrading Negro workers and has helped to bring about Federal government investigations of discriminatory employment practices. He is also a distributor of the Negro weekly, the Pittsburgh **Courier**, in his community.

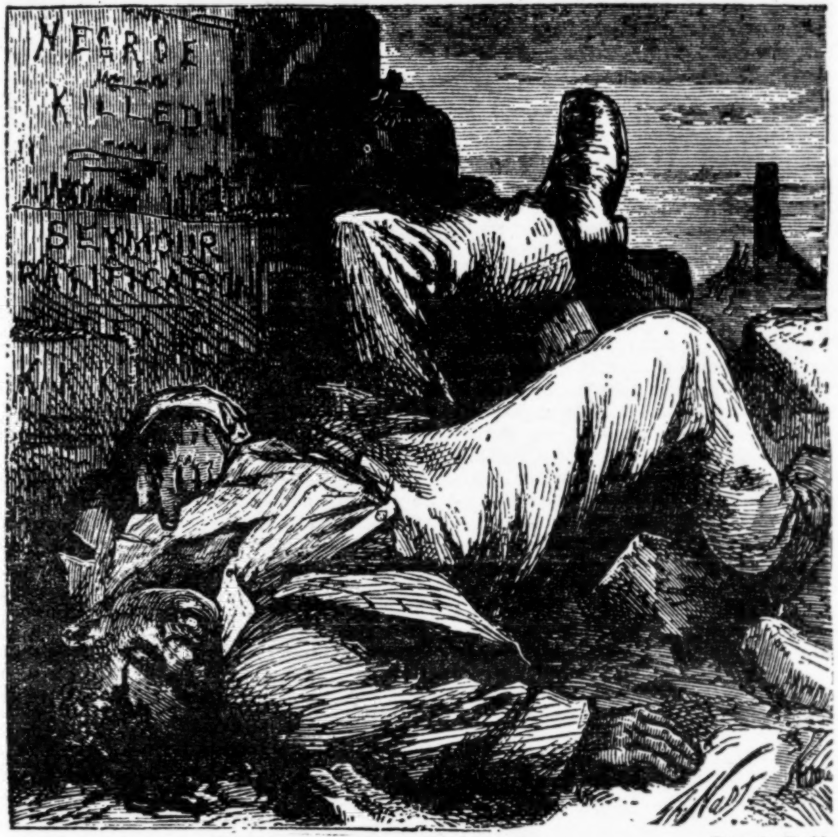
While returning from work on April 10, Rev. Billups was seized at gun point and taken to a wooded area where roughly 70 white men had congregated. There he was bound and blindfolded and subjected to two hours' of torture presided over by a man called the "Prosecutor." Stripped of all his clothes and strung on a rope so that his toes barely touched the ground, Billups was chain-whipped while his tormentors asked questions about the ACMHR and his work at the plant. When his flesh hung raw from his body the defenders of white supremacy poked splinters into his torn and bleeding back. None of his 70 inquisitors has been found by the authorities.

VIOLENCE BEGETS VIOLENCE: More recently the Alabama Court of Appeals confirmed the conviction of another young Negro minister, Rev. Calvin W. Wood, 25, for quoting the Bible and telling his congregation that Negroes should obey a Supreme Court decision and ride the city buses without segregation. Rev. Wood was sentenced to six months in prison and fined $500 in a trial last November. Since that time police have been sitting outside Rev. Wood's church during nearly every service.

The mood of violence is spreading. On the heels of the Parker lynching four white youths surprised two Negro coeds and their escorts, students at Florida A. & M. Univ. at Tallahassee, seized one of the girls and raped her. In Richmond, Va., a group of white teenagers drove by in a car and opend up a shot-gun blast which wounded six Negro youths.

But violence begets violence where the victims feel able to strike back. In Norfolk five Negro youths set upon a young white Marine and beat him up. And in the same city a Navy Chief Petty Officer, Reginald Marchand, white, was dragged from his auto and attacked by another group of Negroes.

Where and when will it end? Certainly not until the Federal government uses its power to protect all its citizens and punish those who take the law in their hands. And ultimately not until the South is forced to abandon the social force system of class, caste and race oppression of which violence is but a natural attribute.



Harper's Weekly

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Monthly Review celebrates 10th anniversary May 19

THE TENTH anniversary of the founding of the magazine **Monthly Review** will be celebrated at a meeting Tuesday, May 19, at New York Center, 227 W. 46th St. In addition to the editors of the magazine, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, the program includes:

Dr. Paul A. Baran, Professor of Economics at Stanford University and author of **The Political Economy of Growth,** published by Monthly Review Press, who will speak on "Marxism and Psychoanalyis."

Prof. Stanley Moore, formerly of Reed College and author of the **Critique of Capitalist Democracy,** who will speak on "Marxism and Culture."

Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, economist, author, and former radio commentator, will be chairman.

Admission is $1.50 at the door, $1 in advance. Tickets can be obtained from Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10th St., New York 14, N.Y. (OR 5-6939).

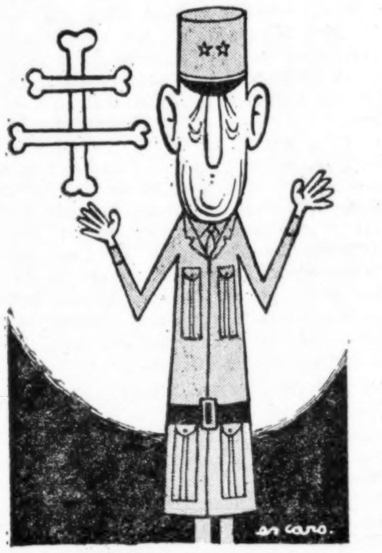
GENEVA: THE WAY IT LOOKS FROM PARIS

They talk tough from weakness

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE STAND FRANCE will take at the May 11 East-West foreign ministers' conference at Geneva was indicated by President de Gaulle at his March 25 press conference. He then virtually identified his policies with those of West German Chancellor Adenauer. French Premier Michel Debré later said that Bonn's policies would remain absolutely unchanged even after Adenauer relinquished his present post.



Es Caro in Liberation, Paris
"Meat prices up again? But that's all part of our policies of grandeur!"

Economic necessities, no doubt, play a part in de Gaulle's changed attitude toward Germany. Bonn has become France's chief money-lender and a vital partner in Eurafrican industrialization projects.

It is true that convertibility of the franc has opened up the French commodity market to foreign capital at unprecedentedly favorable conditions. But, beneath the bloom of convalescence, it has also left French economy especially vulnerable to pressure by the substantial European—and particularly German—investments made since then in French industrial stock.

ECONOMICS & POLITICS: So far the European Common Market has offered France no economic solution by way of new invigorating outlets. French exports to Germany, for example, run second after the Dutch in absolute figures, but in terms of percentage of national production, it holds the last place. In exports to Belgium—also in absolute figures—France falls far behind West Germany and Holland. According to present forecasts, the overall export-import figures within the European Market— $1,200,000,000 exports, $1,300,000,000 imports—would leave France with a deficit of $100,000,000.

It would nevertheless be a serious mistake to consider the economic motives behind French policies as primarily decisive and the political motives as secondary. De Gaulle holds economy in low esteem. "Economy is like the army commissary: it follows," he has said. He conducts himself and his country's affairs rather as a politician of the Machiavellian type. The following frequently quoted passage from one of his books furnishes the most revealing portrait of de Gaulle:

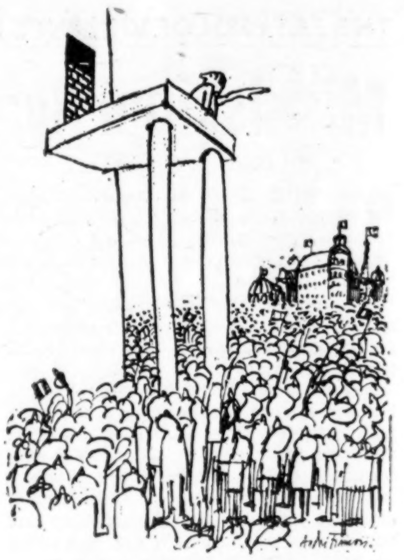
"A leader must be distant. Authority does not go without prestige . . . and prestige cannot go without mystery. [He must] keep to himself some secret elements of surprise ready to break at any time. The latent faith of the masses does the rest."

De Gaulle has made a science of ambiguity and paradox, and an art of balancing conflicting currents about himself. He is first of all a politician, obsessed with the idea of France's "grandeur," of which the frightening folly of the French A-bomb is the first concrete symbol. These are the most likely keys to his politics.

WILL ACT TOUGH: In adjusting his position (except for German border revision) to Bonn's in the East-West duel, ideological sympathies must have played an important part. But from a broader viewpoint other, longer range factors may also have entered into consideration.

Financially and materially, the government de Gaulle heads is the weakest among the Big Four. Taking an extreme position might have been one way to draw attention to himself at an international conference table. He undoubtedly felt it was safe enough to threaten with atomic hellfire whoever would prevent the Western allies' entry into Berlin, since Moscow had never intended anything of the sort.

The French delegation will no doubt act "tough" at the May 11 meeting. But France would seem to be far from the economic independence needed for its delegation seriously to hamstring the conference or block a summit meeting later on. Seen from Paris, the most likely maneuver of the French delegation will be to use its "tough" stand as a bargaining position, without losing sight of another objective: promoting de Gaulle's vision of France's "grandeur."



Francois in La Tribune des Nations, Paris
"Oh, oh! They've walled up the door behind General de Gaulle and now it's starting to rain!"

In past years, public opinion here has been too occupied with the Algerian and domestic economic problems to play an active role on international issues. Today, under the Fifth Republic, with parliament a mere yes-saying body and democratic processes increasingly being whittled down, public protest would seem to have no chance of influencing whatever instructions de Gaulle will give to his delegation at Geneva.

Geneva meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

before 2,000 Yale students on April 24, Adlai Stevenson said the Soviet leaders "intend to beat us without war. They are wholly serious about peaceful competition." He described the world today as a "burning crucible of violent change" in which the Soviet program of "trade and aid . . . is a greater problem for us than Communist military power."

In a speech before the Bonn Foreign Press Assn. on April 30, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, president of the West German parliament and a leading member of Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party—he is considered a possible successor to Adenauer—made a surprising statement on Germany's future. The manner in which his speech was reported in the U.S. and in Britain spotlighted the differences in the approach of the two countries to the German problem.

The **Times** (May 1) reported only that part of Gerstenmaier's talk which showed a preference for leaving "things as they are" as against direct East and West German negotiations for reunification. The **Manchester Guardian** (May 1) noted Gerstenmaier's willingness "to see Germany excluded from NATO" under adequate security measures and to forego nuclear weapons for the West German army.

THOMAS' VIEWS: Norman Thomas, six-time Socialist Party candidate for the presidency and frequent critic of the Soviet Union, noted in the **Saturday Review** (April 18) the many changes for the better that have taken place within the Soviet Union. He expressed support for the "free city" proposal for West Berlin under UN guarantee and found it logical that German "reunification must be postponed until the Germans themselves can ultimately work it out [which] they can best do in a demilitarized Central Europe . . . proposed in the revised [Polish] Rapacki Plan."

Thomas found the Western insistence on "reunification of an armed Germany as a member of NATO . . . dangerously absurd." He said: "Russia, even if Boris Pasternak were Prime Minister, would no more permit a rearmed and reunited Germany to join NATO than the West would permit it to join the Warsaw Pact." He concluded:

"We Communists and non-Communists will have to live together or die together, and democracy's hope lies in its persuasive power in a world which has emerged from under the ever threatening cloud of World War III.

A DOOMED POLICY: The most far-reaching proposal came from George L. Mosse, a native of Berlin and now a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin. In an article in the **Progressive** (May, '59), Mosse traced the West's "policy of containment of the Soviet Union" from 1918 to the present day and emphasized its spectacular failure. He said: "A policy of containment based on military strength seems doomed." He urged instead "plans for settlement and disengagement."

Mosse's solution included recognition of the East German government and a loose East-West German federation; neutralization of Germany and "withdrawal of all foreign troops from German soil"; and East-West guarantee of such a settlement.

THE PROSPECTS: The Western package proposal was approved by NATO members on May 2. It was known, however, that smaller NATO members, who still bear the scars of World War II, favored seeking limited agreements with the Soviet Union rather than insistence on the package deal. They hoped that, after both sides placed their positions on the record, the foreign ministers at Geneva would strive for a realistic compromise solution.

On the eve of Geneva, however, the prevailing opinion was that the foreign ministers will probably end up by agreeing to disagree and put the whole business in the laps of the heads of governments when they meet at an inevitable summit meeting.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING
When the Bolshoi troupe went to see "West Side Story," they went visiting backstage. Here Tucker Smith gives a mambo lesson to Natalia Taborkha in a cultural exchange.

Victor Levitt memorial stone unveiling May 17

A MEMORIAL STONE will be unveiled Sunday, May 17, at the grave of Victor Levitt, late head of Trade Union Service Press who died in October, 1956. TUS Press was the GUARDIAN's printer until 1956, and Victor Levitt was a prime mover in helping the GUARDIAN into being in 1948.

The unveiling will take place at 11 a.m. at Washington Cemetery, Deans, N.J. The cemetery is reached from the New Jersey Turnpike via Route 1 (Exit 9) to Route 130, then 5½ miles to a marker on a traffic island indicating a left turn for Washington Cemetery.

In case of rain the unveiling will be postponed until May 24.

May 15 meeting in L. A. to discuss Powell case

LATEST developments in the Powell-Schuman "treason" trial will be discussed at a public meeting Friday, May 15, in Los Angeles. Willard Carpenter, Associate Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Dorothy Marshall, chairman of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, will speak. Julian Schuman, one of the defendants, will participate during the discussion period. The meeting will be held at the City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive, at 8 p.m.

An appeal for Robert Thompson

The following telegram was received by the GUARDIAN last week:

ROBERT THOMPSON, one of the first Communist leaders imprisoned under Smith Act and hero of Spain, decorated in Second World War, again faces imprisonment following refusal Supreme Court to review case. Thompson now under medical care suffering from near fatal unprovoked attack in 1953 while in prison and two serious head operations that followed assault. Return to prison would mean grave danger to his life. Urge you and others contact President Eisenhower and Attorney-General William P. Rogers requesting pardon or commutation of sentence or immediate medical parole.

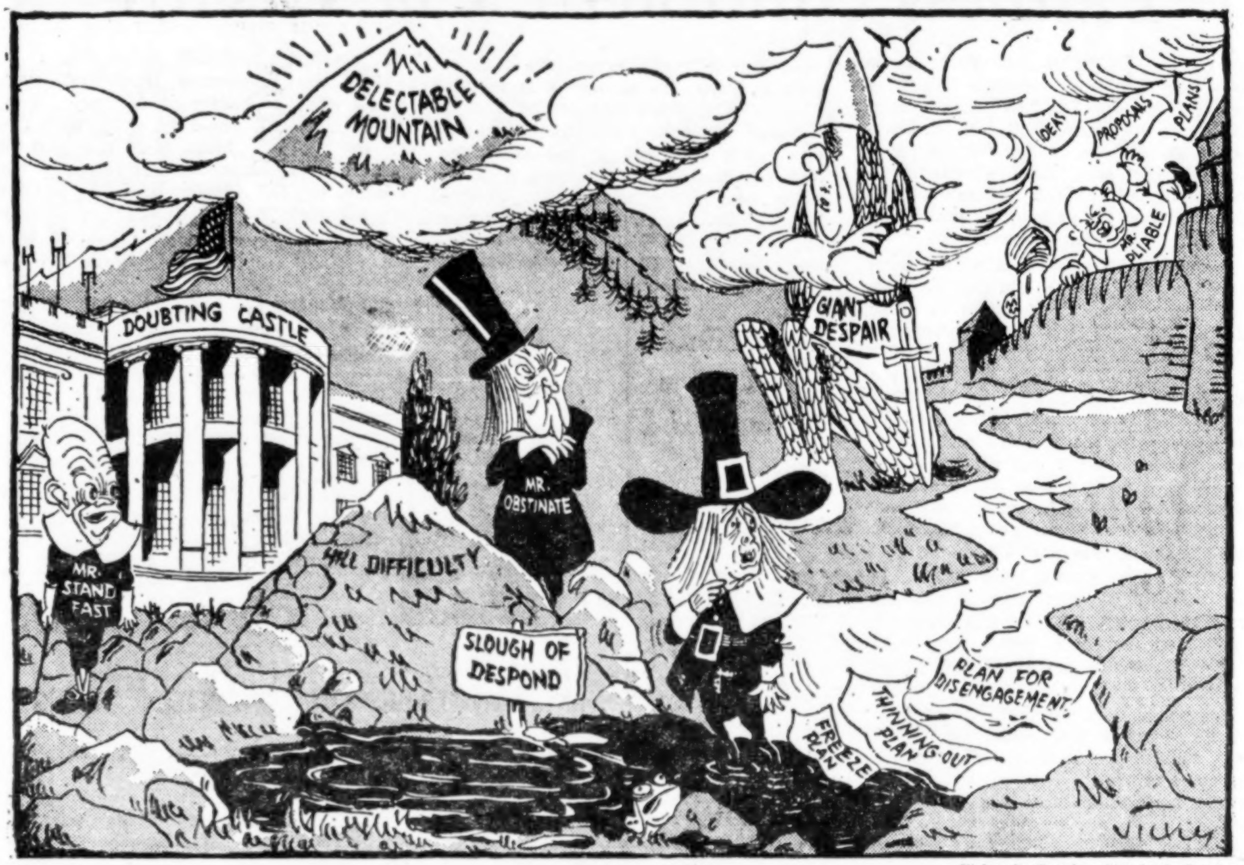
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

GENEVA: THE WAY IT LOOKS FROM LONDON

The voters tell the politicians: Peace, or out!

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON



Vicky, in Evening Standard, London

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

ON THE EVE of the Geneva foreign ministers' conference, steady-nerved progressives here are cautiously hopeful despite the crescendo of nuclear bluster by the "stand-patters."

No intelligent observer credits Prime Minister Macmillan with serious desire to negotiate over Berlin and Germany. Indeed Macmillan is publicly envisioning a protracted conference leading perhaps to a whole series of Summits—"talks about talking" in which the West would block progress while propagandizing about Soviet rigidity.

On the other hand, frantic efforts to sell the idea that "Western rights in Berlin" are worth a nuclear war have got nowhere with the public. The latest Gallup Poll (London **News Chronicle**) shows only 11% here, 13% in West Germany, agreeing with this; 24% here, 31% in West Germany, favoring Western withdrawal from Berlin; and 47% here, 46% in West Germany, 53% in the U.S., wanting the "Berlin problem" turned over to the UN.

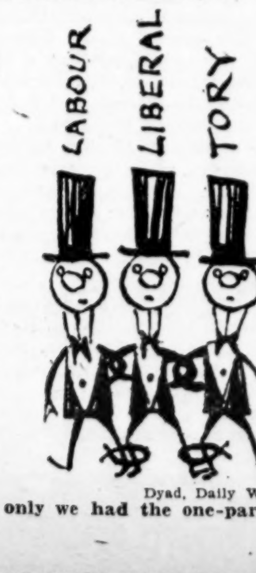
FAILING EFFORT: While West German Defense Minister Strauss sought to overcome public peace-mindedness in the U.S., West Berlin's fire-eating "Socialist" Mayor Willy Brandt has been here on a similar mission. In an open letter to Brandt after his departure, eight Labor MP's told him that, however much sympathy his "stand-pattism" may have drawn from VIP's here, the people in all countries involved are overwhelmingly for compromise.

They pointed out that in fact there is much in common between the positions on the German question of Britain's Labor Party, Brandt's own Social Democratic Party, and Moscow and Warsaw. All had come out for some form of "disengagement" in Germany; and if the West produced a deadlock by refusing to consider it, the people would hold them responsible. If the West tried to "stand pat" in Berlin by threatening nuclear war, their bluff would be called and Moscow would make unilateral changes.

In the foreign affairs debate April 27, the tactic of Labor spokesman Aneurin Bevan was to take at face value the government's professions of a comparatively flexible approach to the Geneva conference. In this way Bevan hoped to take some wind out of the sails of Tory backbench diehards, and to impress on Macmillan the public demand here for a real stand against West German, French and U.S. rigidity.

Bevan refrained from expressing the popular fears that the West will use the old "package" device of tying so many issues together as to rule out any gradual steps to relax tensions. He said little about Labor's official opposition to nuclear arming of Germany, but strongly re-stressed the party's pledge to stop nuclear tests when returned to power.

PRESSURE FROM BELOW: In this renewed pledge the **Times** rightly detected a heightened sensitivity on the part of Labor leaders to rank-and-file pressure for "a firmer line on the nuclear question." The great non-party Aldermaston demonstration, highlighting Labor's continued failure to arouse popular enthusiasm, has left its mark.



Dyad, Daily Worker, London

"If only we had the one-party system!"

Leaders of the party are perturbed by the tendency, among many who should be its doorbell-ringing cadres, to shrug it off as an "essentially middle-class movement entirely incapable of wooing mass working class support" (letter to **Tribune, 4/24**). Yet clearly no other instrument exists to express the swelling demand for peace and all it implies, and Labor's official foreign policies are positive as far as they go. The trouble lies in widespread skepticism as to the party's determination to press for these policies and, in power, to implement them.

At a Universities & Left Review meeting last month of 500 (mostly young) Aldermaston marchers, many speakers despaired of anything but "direct" and if necessary "illegal" action outside political parties as a means of forcing Britain to speak for its crisis-weary people.

Many would not be moved from their resolve to boycott elections rather than vote for any pro-nuclear candidate. They insisted that Britain must stop not only tests but manufacture of nuclear weapons, and eliminate U.S. bases. This demand will be manifested in nationwide "Aldermaston" demonstrations now being planned for September. As for the Labor leadership, the overwhelming mood of the "after Aldermaston what?" meeting was one of contempt.

NOTE OF HOPE: After Zilliacus' speech in the Commons debate, pointing out once again that "balance of power" policies are out-of-date and return to the UN Charter is the only alternative, even some Tories were admitting in the lobbies that all hope had died of dictating to Moscow "from strength."

Khrushchev's moderate and diplomatically skillful approach to the Geneva conference is noted with respect in most political circles here. His espousal of Macmillan's suggestion on test ban checks—that an agreed number of on-the-spot inspections be done annually by both sides—was headlined in the right-wing **Sunday Times** as a "note of hope."

The fact staring Western "stand-patters" in the face is that the threat of nuclear war must be an obvious bluff, unless they have decided to commit suicide: it merely amounts to saying in effect, "Don't move an inch or I'll blow my brains out." Everyone can see that the U.S. generals' talk about "limited war" is nonsense, and therefore war of any kind is ruled out as a means of solving anything. The latest to arrive at this conclusion is none other than Field Marshal Montgomery, who has done as much as any other Western general to build up armaments and tensions. Montgomery is now on a one-man Moscow mission to contribute what he can to ending "this frightful dog's breakfast," as he calls the present East-West situation.

THE DANGER: Gaitskell and Bevan plan to follow him to Moscow, probably in September now that British elections are off until next winter or spring. With Nixon and Harriman joining the procession of Moscow pilgrims, this has clearly become the Western leaders' prime formula for continuing success in public life. The voters are ready to ditch anyone who doesn't seem to be making efforts for peace, and the Russians are the ones with whom peace has to be made.

While this is the obvious commonsense of the situation, even the most hopeful observers see the world perched on a powder-keg as the talks begin. The danger lies in the total bankruptcy and frustration of those who will be negotiating on the West's behalf. The hope lies in public opinion. The question is whether it will be mobilized loudly enough and in time.

Certainly a record performance of Western stalling and misrepresentation of the other side is to be expected; but at the worst, optimists here are saying, "as long as we're talking we won't be blowing ourselves up."

Lancaster, London Daily Express

"What I want to know is whether the West German President is a mere figuredhead or a real functioning president with golf clubs and an oxygen tent?"

Rep. Meyer poses a 'Peace Party'

IN A SPEECH HARDLY REPORTED anywhere except in a few Boston papers, Rep. William Meyer (D-Vt.) said in Cambridge last month: "A new political party—a Peace Party—with a good, strong program for achieving peace, would attract 10,000,000 voters." He spoke at a meeting sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee of New England and the Greater Boston Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Meyer told the audience of 500 to become more active in local politics, to exert more influence among their fellow-citizens and to write more letters to Congress and the Administration in Washington. "Let your views be known," he said.

"A great change has been taking place," he said. "People of this country have moved ahead of their leaders on the issues of disarmament and negotiations with the Soviet Union." This estimate, he said, came from reactions to his speeches, in and out of Congress, calling for more serious attempts at negotiations with mutual concessions, and for some form of military disengagement.

BOOKS

Painless childbirth a la Pavlov

SEVERAL YEARS AGO Pearl Mesta visited a maternity ward in a large hospital in the U.S.S.R. The women there, she wrote, gave birth without benefit of anaesthesia simply "by taking a deep breath." Mrs. Mesta never bothered to explain just how this feat was brought about, and so far as I know, neither did any other American observer.

Instead, the first clarification has come from France where Dr. Fernand Lamaze, chief obstetrician to the lying-in clinic of the metal workers union, introduced "Accouchement sans Douleur" to his country in 1951 following a visit to the Soviet Union. Dr. Lamaze administered the Method (adding some refinements of his own) to the union wives, and in private practice to a few individual patients, including a venturesome American woman, Marjorie Karmel, who has just written a sprightly book about the whole thing called **Thank You, Dr. Lamaze.***

Now we know that the patients in the Soviet maternity ward were all practicing a technique of mental and muscular control to eliminate pain ("douleur") during childbirth, developed during the Thirties by the Russian scientist Pavlov.

Word of the Pavlov method has been dribbling across the ocean ever since 1956 when Pope Pius XII gave it his sanction. But no popular writer has given us a full report on it and only one technical book has been available in English. That gives Mrs. Karmel's account an importance quite beyond its subjective subject-matter.

BUT JUST WHAT is the Pavlov method? Not, Mrs. Karmel makes it clear at the start, the same "Natural Childbirth" about which so much has been written in the U.S. The latter is a British import, the creation of Dr. Grantly Dick Read.

Both Read and Pavlov were aiming at the same goal—the elimination of the need for harmful anaesthesia and drugs through the training of the mother in proper labor and delivery techniques. Both assume the primary cause of pain in childbirth to be fear and both believe it can be eliminated through education and exercise. But Read, says Mrs. Karmel, takes a "profoundly rhapsodic and mystical view of childbirth," and hence teaches that relaxation (letting nature take its course, you might say) is the main key to painless childbirth. The Pavlov method, on the other hand, "replaces this emotional force with a whole series of physical and mental techniques based on the conditioned reflex and pain theories of the Russian physiologist."

The book is in two parts, the story of Mrs. Karmel's two accouchements, the first in Paris, the second in New York City. The Parisian half of the book is a happy tale from start to finish. **L'enceinte** is turned over to her **monotrice,** and the book's true heroine, a Mme. Cohen, gives the instructions in the Method Dr. Lamaze appears only twice, at the beginning and again at the delivery, but Mme. Cohen is there throughout, intelligent, indefatigable, **formidable,** in the best French manner.

BREATHLESS WITH missionary zeal, after a successful Pavlovian delivery, Mrs. Karmel gets her comeuppance a few years later in New York, scene of accouchement Number 2, where to her surprise she discovers that no one either knows or cares about Pavlov. She makes it pretty clear that there is a profound indifference, indeed contempt, among the medical profession toward any method of painless childbirth.

But she persevered here and won. Eventually, a doctor was found who, while skeptical, would go along with the Pavlov method. Most of it she had to administer to herself. What's wrong with Pavlov, the N.Y. doctor told her, is that it's all just "brainwashing" . . . very "dogmatic and doctrinaire." . . . In this country, "we believe in letting people think for themselves."

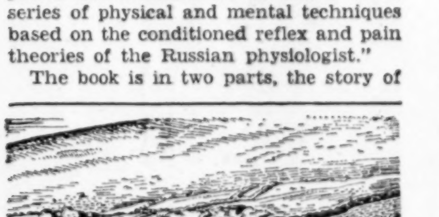
You can guess the end. Marianne Margaret arrives in N.Y. by Pavlovian method, confounding doctors and nurses alike—and Mrs. Karmel has proved that if you really try you can have a do-it-yourself baby here a la Pavlov. But you must be prepared to fight City Hall, and the NAM.

—**Madelon Bedell**

***THANK YOU, DR. LAMAZE, by Marjorie Karmel. J. B. Lippincott Co. Philadelphia. 188 pp. $2.95.*

MARJORIE KARMEL

She tells how her two children were born in a natural method developed by Soviet scientist Pavlov



OF MEN AND MOUNTAINS

Drawings by Rockwell Kent, selected from among twelve illustrating the newly-published account by the artist and his wife, Sally, of their travels in 1958 to Ireland and other countries after winning their passport fight. OF MEN AND MOUNTAINS, Asgaard Press of Ausable Forks, N.Y. Limited edition, 46 pp. $1.

TWO NEW SOVIET NOVELS

The civil war, and a boy's view of today

THE TAIGA is a mountainous region in Siberia with dense forests and boulder-strewn valleys. After the civil war in Russia which followed the 1917 revolution, the region became a stronghold of defeated White army bands which carried on guerrilla warfare and then armed banditry for some years.

An exciting and meaningful adventure story of bringing in the taiga bandits has been translated by former Moscow correspondent Joseph Barnes. Over here the story is called **Comrade Venka***; there, as part of "Details of Life," a cycle of stories by Soviet novelist and playwright Pavel Nilin, it was titled **Cruelty.** It sold 90,000 copies in its first printing in late 1957 after appearing serially in a Soviet literary magazine.

Nilin wrote it late in 1956 as an episode in the early activities of the OGPU, generally identified as the first Soviet secret police. In the period of Nilin's story, the OGPU operates more like Canada's Northwest Mounted Police. The youthful Venka of the title is one of a detachment in a Siberian village outpost assigned to flush out the taiga band of a former lieutenant of Admiral Kolchak.

VENKA'S UNDOING is that he construes his task as one of conversion, not suppression. If the "Emperor of all the taiga" is unregenerate, the earthy peasants around him are not. To Venka the objective is winning them to the side of the new society; not trapping them with plausible argument to enhance the prestige of the State or to throw the fear of the OGPU into the rest of the peasantry. But Venka's hard-working, bureaucratic Chief—once Venka's methods have won the peasants themselves to capture and turn over the bandit leader—reverses his subordinate and arrests the peasant-captors.

The book-jacket proclaims **Comrade Venka** as a "sensitive and powerful attack on the cruelty and repression of Stalinist Russia." This is better salestalk than fact, since at the period of **Comrade Venka** Lenin was at the Soviet helm, and indeed is the only leader mentioned in the book. The word "sensitive" is well-chosen, however, for another set of reasons. The book is indeed sensitive to the callousness of bureaucracy (which Lenin himself excoriated in the same period). But it is sensitive on a higher level to the ideals which can make a humane Comrade Venka out of on OGPU policeman; and to the view that the cruelties evident then, as later, are uglinesses that only socialist health can and will cast off. Indeed, even in the tragic climax of **Comrade Venka,** the author hints at no other conclusion.

NOT POSSIBLY CONTROVERSIAL, but instead a lovably warm and eventful child's-eye view of Soviet family life, is the English version of Vera Panova's **Serioja,** which comes to us through Arlington Books, Inc., Cambridge, Mass., under the title **Time Walked****: ("When as a child I laughed and wept, Time crept; When as a boy, I laughed and talked, Time walked").

One for grownups to enjoy, then perhaps read from to adventure-loving children, **Time Walked** lives simply and intimately through four seasons of the life of a six-year-old boy. At the child's level, Serioja gets a new father (his own was killed in the war); gets a perilous ducking when older children take him out in a forbidden boat; in time gets a new brother; suffers manfully through a tattooing escapade and other adventures.

At the grownup's level there are knowing insights into Soviet family life. The mother is a teacher, the father runs a collective farm; there are old-generation aunts, uncles, grandparents, and even juvenile delinquents of a mild sort. It is a life much removed from ours in mechanical convenience (theirs is the only telephone in the street, for example) but seemingly without our economic turmoils. The London **Times** aptly called it "restfully amusing."

Arlington Books, Inc., is a new venture which aims to publish "only authors who speak well about something worth hearing." **Time Walked** is an amiable start.

—**John T. McManus**

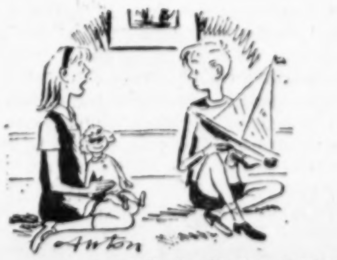
**COMRADE VENKA, by Pavel Nilin. Translated by Joseph Barnes. Simon and Schuster, N.Y. 246 pp. $3.75.*

***TIME WALKED, by Vera Panova, a translation printed in England. Arlington Books Inc., 30 Arlington St., Cambridge, Mass. 177 pp. $3.50.*

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Nonviolence and the cold war

THERE IS A WAY OUT, an effectively presented pamphlet urging nonviolent resistance to armaments and the cold war, is offered for 10c, twelve for $1 or $5 per hundred by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7. Regional offices of the Friends Committee have supplies. Ours came from the New England Regional Office, P.O. Box 247, 30 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. . . . Monthly Review Press has just issued three important books: **World Without War** by scientist J. D. Bernal, **Caste, Class & Race** by Prof. Oliver C. Cox, first published by Doubleday in 1948; and **American Labor in Midpassage,** a collection of ten views compiled by Bert Cochran, editor of **The American Socialist.** The work is an outcome of a joint labor issue of **Monthly Review** and the **American Socialist** magazines published last summer.



London Evening Standard

"There's only one thing I don't want to be when I grow up—an adult!"

NEW CENTURY Publishers, 832 Broadway, N.Y. 3, has combined author-editor Joseph North's articles from Cuba into a pamphlet entitled **Cuba's Revolution,** and subtitled, "I saw the people's victory." The cover is by artist Fred Ellis. Price 10c. . . . A three-volume summary of the findings of eight years of study into why 2,000,000 American men were rejected or prematurely separated by the armed forces during World War II was published May 4 by Columbia University Press. The compilation was under the direction of Prof. Eli Ginzburg, director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project set up by Gen. Eisenhower when he was Columbia's president. The summary is titled **The Ineffective Soldier;** the volume titles are **The Lost Divisions, Breakdown and Recovery and Patterns of Performance.**

YOU WILL GO to The Moon is the title of a youth book written by Rutgers physics professor Ira Freeman and his wife Mae for Random House Beginner Books. It will be published this spring. The authors have also written **Fun with Astronomy** and **Fun with Chemistry.** The new book will be the seventh of the Beginner series, which began with cartoonist Dr. Suess' **The Cat in the Hat.**

Witch-hunters

(Continued from Page 1)

of this bill would be to reinstate local anti-sedition laws overturned in the Nelson decision.

- Make it a condition of employment of Federal employes that they shall "not refuse to answer," before a Congressional committee or other government agency, "any question with respect to Communist, Communist-front, or other subversive activities or any other matter bearing upon loyalty to the U.S."
- Grant authority to the head of any government department or agency "in his absolute discretion" to suspend any civilian employe under his control, including those in "non-sensitive" jobs.
- Grant the State Dept. the right to withhold passports from anyone it felt would "injure the U.S." by traveling abroad. The Supreme Court in its Kent-Briehl decision held that the State Dept. had no legislative authority to refuse passports. This measure would grant that authority.
- Permit prosecution of Americans for espionage anywhere in the world. This bill passed the House in March without a dissenting vote.
- Permit the Justice Dept. to question aliens who are under final deportation orders about possible "subversive" connections.

TOO EXTREME: Some of these measures were too broad even for the Justice Dept. Deputy Atty. Gen. Lawrence E. Walsh said at the hearings that the department opposed many of the bills. On the proposals for passport restrictions and extension of the government security program he refused comment. He added that the department favored redefinition of the term "organize" in the Smith Act and a law to permit state anti-sedition legislation, but he believed it was too broadly drawn in the current proposal.

Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, opposed all the measures. He said the witch-hunting committees "have set a climate of opinion in this country that is unfavorable to the free and open discussion of ideas." And with the loyalty-security program they have fostered apathy and conformity in the country, particularly on the campuses.

He suggested that the committee invite testimony from deans of several leading law schools. He concluded: "There is no internal security crisis in the U.S. today. There is no occasion for hasty hearings or ill-considered legislation."

ACLU OPPOSED: Edward J. Ennis, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, also opposed the proposals. He said he considered the Smith Act "bad legislation that should not be made worse." Passports, he said, should not be restricted except for the "most compelling reasons."

On May 2, 35 professors at eastern universities, including the deans of the law schools at Harvard, Columbia, Pennsylvania and Yale, sent a telegram to the committee which said: "No one of these bills seems to us to strengthen the democratic system they are intended to protect. On the contrary, in combination they seem to us to jeopardize many of the values most highly cherished in a free society."

Despite the opposition, it seemed likely the committee would report favorably on most of the proposals. Some saw a danger that the bills would quietly pass the Senate piecemeal as the two earlier measures passed the House. The ECLC urged people to write to their Senators to oppose all the bills.

SCALES CASE HEARD: While some were trying to toughen the Smith Act, one standing provision of the law was being tested in the Supreme Court. On April 29 the justices heard arguments in the appeal by Junius I. Scales, former Communist leader in North Carolina, on his conviction under the Smith Act "membership" clause. Telford Taylor, representing Scales, pointed out that the prosecution had not charged Scales with advocating violent overthrow of the government. Instead it had introduced evidence about the aims of the Communist Party in general. He said the conviction was a violation of the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly.

Taylor also argued that the Internal Security Act of 1950 which states that membership in a Communist organization shall not "in itself" be a crime, repealed the membership clause of the Smith Act.

Justice Felix Frankfurter saw two issues involved. The first was whether the Communist Party had said things sufficiently dangerous to permit government repression despite the First Amendment's guarantees. And the second was whether membership in the party was "too remote" from the danger to be constitutionally permissible.

Other membership cases awaiting the outcome of the Scales case are those of Claude Lightfoot, Chicago; John Noto, Buffalo; Max Weiss, Chicago; John Hellman, Butte, Mont.; and Albert Blumberg of New York who was indicted in Philadelphia.

HST SOUNDS OFF: Civil liberties found a new defender in former President Harry S. Truman who told a group of students at Columbia University in New York to fight the loyalty oath required of students who receive Federal aid.

He added: "We are going through a period now where witch-hunters in the House and Senate are charging people with things that don't exist. I've said it before and I say it again, the Un-American Activities Committee is the most un-American thing in this country today."

Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, promptly invited Truman to explain himself before the group. The former President said he would come if he had the time, but added that witnesses before the committee don't have a chance because the committee "won't let you work under the Bill of Rights."

PASSPORT HEARING: Deprived of the headlines Truman's appearance would bring, the committee satisfied itself with ten lesser lights. All were people who were granted passports since the Supreme Court decision in the Kent-Briehl cases. All were accused of devious intent in their travel plans, but none cooperated with the committee.

Most newspaper space was won for the committee by the appearance of Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, who recently returned from a seven-week tour of Europe for his union. In answer to questions about past and present Communist affiliations, Bridges invoked the Fifth Amendment "out of principle" although, he pointed out, "I have answered the same questions . . . dozens of times under oath in a court of law."

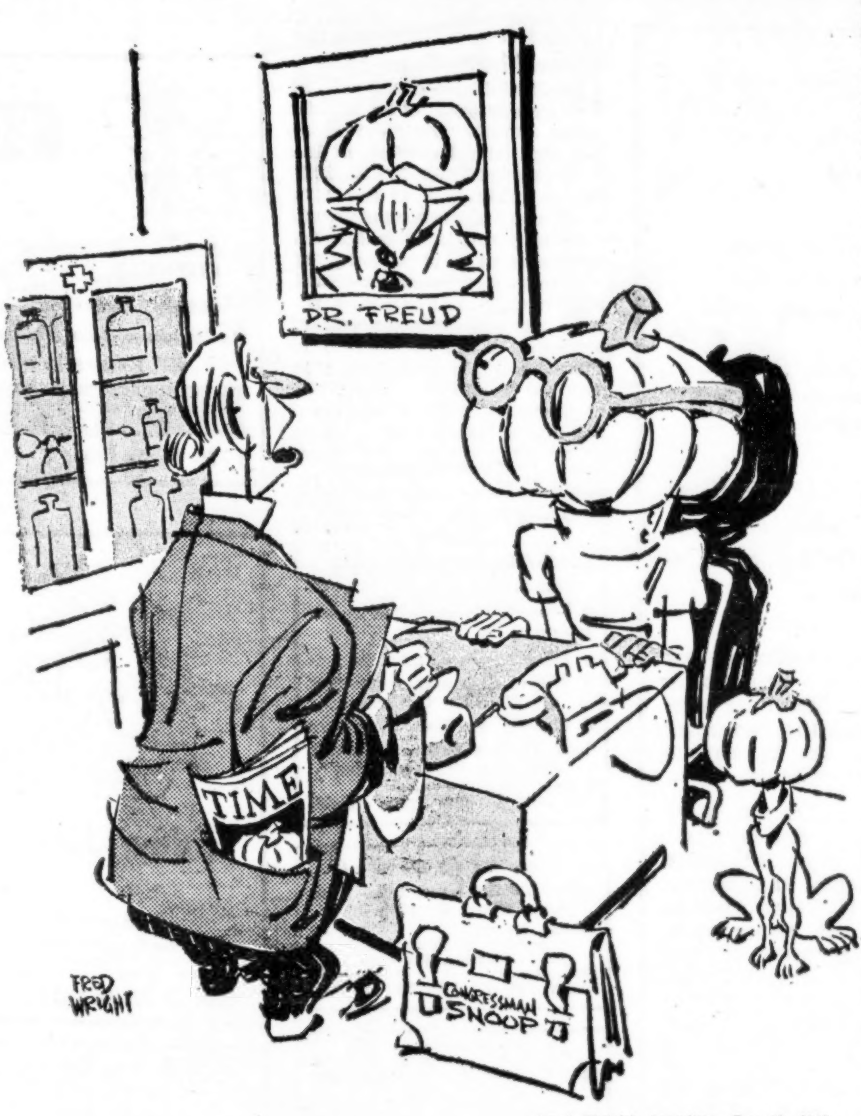
Bridges' four hours of testimony were often heated. At one point he told Committee Counsel Richard Arens to "back up" and "button up." To Rep. Gordon Scherer (R-O.) he said: "The difference between you and me, Congressman, is that I not only preach democracy but I also practice it." In an exchange on China, Bridges referred to Chiang Kai-shek as "a bum."

NEXT STOP, CHICAGO: The West Coast longshoremen's paper, the **Dispatcher,** thought the committee had additional motives in calling Bridges. It said: "The real interest of the committee . . . was directed toward torpedoing the Asian and Pacific Dock Workers' Conference to be held in Tokyo, Japan, May 11, 12 and 13, or any move designed to strengthen union bargaining power by utilizing overseas help of other longshore organizations."

In Tokyo the Japanese government refused to issue a visa to ILWU secy.-treasurer Louis Goldblatt to attend the conference, but found no evidence "that would justify banning" Bridges.

On May 4 the Un-American committee moved its baggage to Chicago where it was to hold three days of hearings of charges that the AFL-CIO United Packinghouse Workers was "infiltrated by Communists."

To many it seemed appropriate to remind Washington that time had run out on the witch-hunts.



Fred Wright, Guardian, Dec. 13, 1948

"Everywhere I go I see pumpkins, Doc."

Booklet on curb-the-court bills

AMERICANS INTERESTED IN PRESERVING individual liberties would do well to equip themselves—and their friends—with a handy, well-written analysis of the attacks on the Supreme Court which has just been published by the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights. Entitled **The New Curb-the-Court Bills in Congress—What You Can Do to Protect Your Freedom,** the booklet recalls the McCarthyite hysteria of the early 1950's, summarizes the Court's major civil rights and liberties decisions, and examines the crusade launched against the Court by the right-wing of American politics.

Seven anti-Court bills in Congress are listed and described. Warning that the chances of their passage are better than for similar measures in the last Congress the booklet states: "Clearly, the Supreme Court cannot and will not long stand alone." It indicates what citizens can do to support the Court's defense of constitutional liberties.

Copies may be obtained (3c each, $2 per 100, $15 per 1,000, plus postage) from the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Illinois. For Chicagoans the phone number is Dearborn 2-7142.

TIMELESS CHARLIE IS 70

At Corsier-sur-Vey, Switzerland, Charlie Chaplin puffs his birthday candles out. Son Eugene stands ready to assist and wife Oona and daughter Victoria look on. In New York, at the Plaza Theater, Chaplin's wonderful "Modern Times" is being shown—the first of the great Chaplin films to be shown in New York in many years.

On the 30th Day of May, 1959 . . .

—A book that has been out of print and nearly impossible to obtain for 10 years will again become available.

If you've ever read it, you've never forgotten it. "It is a terrifying book, of an extraordinary emotional intensity," said the **Washington Post.**

The title of the book is Johnny Got His Gun. **Its author is Dalton Trumbo, who, although blacklisted by Hollywood, recently won an Academy Award under another name.**

NOT EVERYONE WILL BE ABLE TO READ THIS BOOK: BUT THOSE WHO ARE NOT AFRAID OF TRUTH CAN READ IT, *and will know that they have come face to face with genius.*

Johnny Got His Gun is a novel. It is one of the most extraordinary books ever written.

Johnny Got His Gun, said *Saturday Review,* "is not merely a powerful anti-war document; it is also a powerful and brilliant work of the imagination. In giving voice to a human experience that has hitherto been voiceless, Mr. Trumbo has written a book that can never be forgotten by anyone who ever reads it."

Nothing like this story has ever before been set down on paper. It is a tale of brutality and horror, and yet its beauty reaches out to the reader with smooth savagery. If you want to cherish life with an appreciation you've never had before . . . read **Johnny Got His Gun**.

Here, truly, is a great American novel.

When this book was published many years ago, a generation of Americans was tremendously impressed. It went into eight printings and, because of its shocking content, was widely discussed.

Two decades and an atomic age later, it lives as a great American novel.

We are publishing a new edition (the ninth printing) because we believe that a whole new generation of Americans should experience this book.

Johnny Got His Gun will be published and a major national advertising promotion campaign launched on Memorial Day, May 30. Copies will be available early in May.

The price of the book will be $3.95. If you place a prepublication order, you will save $1. For, the coupon below entitles you to your copy for only $2.95.

Order your preview copy of **Johnny Got His Gun** and do it today.

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Israeii folk music, dance festival in N.Y. on May 9

HASHOMER HATZAIR will offer a program of Israeli folk music Saturday eve., May 9, at the High School of Fashion Industries auditorium, 225 W. 24th St., in celebration of the 11th anniversary of the state of Israel.

Featured artists will be Martha Schlamme in a presentation of international folk songs; Hillel and Aviva, Israeli recording artists; and the Avshalom Trio in Yemenite songs and dances. Tickets at $3, $4 and $5 may be obtained by calling GR 3-4747, or through the sponsor's offices, 112 Fourth Av., N.Y.C.

LOS ANGELES

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in the
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8 P.M. Donation $1.
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- **Willard Carpenter**, Assoc. Dir. ACLU of So. California
- **Dorothy Marshall**, Chairman.

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The Buying Service, p. 12

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Jim Lambrecht just returned from tour of midwest colleges. Forum followed by a welcome-home social.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES, well-known historian and lecturer, will speak on "100 Years of Sholem Aleichem" at West Side Community Club, Fri., May 8, 8:30 p.m. at Hotel Beacon (Silver Room), Bway & 75 St. Admission free.

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THE GALLERY

HERMANN GOERING'S WIDOW, EMMA, is living a lush life in West Germany. A Bavarian court awarded her $36,000 in jewelry from her husband's estate; in Westphalia she got $24,000 from Hermann's holdings. Recently she sold some of her husband's property on the vacation island of Sylt and she is currently offering for sale one of his yachts. This month a West Berlin court will consider an application to confiscate Goering's holdings in that city valued at $186,000. Widow Emma claims that history has been unkind to Hermann who, she says, was really a Nazi victim . . . During the showing of **Judgment at Nurenberg** on Playhouse 90 last month, CBS technicians rendered inaudible the words "death in a gas chamber" because one of the program's sponsors is the American Gas Assn. . . . From a N.Y. **Times** story on Tibet: "When it was realized that the route to Bhutan was impassable, the state oracle was consulted, and, after going into a trance, he advised the Dalai Lama should seek refuge in India." . . . Four students at San Jose State College in California are training volunteers for guerrilla warfare in Tibet. John Blackmore, leader of the group, says the volunteers' names are being held confidential. He says: "We must filter in individually or in small groups, and inconspicuously."

FROM A LETTER FROM SHIRLEY GRAHAM DUBOIS: "After four weeks in Peking we are now on a month's tour of China, accompanied by two handsome gentlemen (both speak English), a charming young lady translator, and a pretty, little trained nurse for W. E. B. The fact is they simply don't let his feet touch the ground here. His 91st birthday was celebrated in Peking as nobody's birthday has been celebrated in New China. Only in the days of the Emperors was there anything like it. Which reminds me, Chairman Mao told us the other day that one of our two gentlemen is the direct descendant of the Ming dynasty. As a matter of fact, since he is the eldest son, he might well be the Emperor of China now—if there were any Emperors in China." . . . Sign in a bank on 14th St. and First Av. in New York: "A savings account and a cigar—both contribute to steady nerves." A restaurant three blocks away is called the "Prince of Pizza." . . . Andrew Macaroff, a machinist at the Republic Aviation plant in Farmingdale, L.I., received three extra items in his pay envelope last month: A letter from the company president congratulating him on completing five years of service; a five-year service pin; and a lay-off notice.

"THE NAKED MAJA" GETS A DRESS IN NEW YORK.

United Artists was ordered to paint a dress—no sack model—on a 265' x 60' reproduction of Goya's masterpiece on a billboard advertising its movie, "The Naked Maja." Postcards of the painting distributed by the company were banned from the mails. Some, who saw the hand of the company's press agents, pointed out that the censorship had offered the company more publiicty than they could have bought. Most critics thought the movie was no masterpiece.

HARVARD PROF. F. J. ROETHLISBERGER was recently studying personnel relations at a large company when he noticed that one executive, recently transferred to a new job, showed signs of anxiety—insomnia, loss of appetite, inability to concentrate. The professor also noticed that all high-ranking executives in the company had twin-pedestal desks, but the troubled man's desk had only one pedestal. Immediately the professor replaced the desk with a twin-pedestal model and the executive's anxiety disappeared—according to the professor. . . . U. of Arizona psychologist Dr. Ole A. Simley believes that TV westerns are "therapeutic entertainment" because they give a sense of being in the wide open spaces. He says the call of the outdoors is a reversion to primitive instincts, "a heartbreaking attempt to regain the peaceful sensation of outdoor life." . . . State Rep. Paul Powell in arguing against a wage increase for members of the Illinois legislature said: "If we raise the pay much more, we're going to have people really qualified running for office and we'll all be out of jobs." . . . Richard D. Kennedy, candidate for the Democratic nomination for mayor of Cleveland, says that integration is fine as an attitude but deplorable as a law. **—Robert E. Light**

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F 7020 SONGS TO GROW ON: American folk songs with Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Adelaide Van Way, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston.
V 100 BABY SITTERS: — Folk songs for babies, small children, parents & baby sitters.

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V 8501 BORDERLINE: Mel Powell Trio with Paul Quinichette & Bobby Donaldson.
V 8503 JO JONES SPECIAL: Emmet Berry, Benny Green, Lucky Thompson, Walter Page, Count Basie.
V 8504 RUBY BRAFF SPECIAL: Vic Dickenson, Nat Pierce, Sam Margolis, Walter Page, Jo Jones.
V 8505 LISTEN TO THE BLUES: Jimmy Rushing and an all star band.
V 8507 TWO BY TWO: Ruby Braff & Ellis Larkins play Rodgers & Hart.
V 8513 IF THIS AIN'T THE BLUES: Jimmy Rushing.
V 8514 BUCKIN' THE BLUES: The Buck Clayton Septet.
V 8517 BUCK MEETS RUBY: — Buck Clayton's Band & Mel Powell Septet.
V 8520 VIC DICKINSON SHOWCASE: Ruby Braff, Edmond Hall, Slim Jordan Walter Page, Sir Charles Thomson, Les Erskine.

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M 2010 BEETHOVEN ARCHDUKE TRIO: Emil Gilels (piano), Leonid Kogan (violin), Mstislav Rostropovich (cello).
M 2011 BEETHOVEN SONATA #7 (C minor): MOZART SONATA (F major): Leonid Kogan (violinist).
M 2018 VIVALDI VIOLIN CONCERTO (G minor); HANDOSHKIN VIOLA CONCERTO; RAMEAU CONCERTO #6 (G minor): Leonid Kogan, Rudolph Barshai (viola), Moscow Chamber Orch.
M 2020 SHOSTAKOVICH - "From Jewish Folk Poetry"; MUSSORGSKY-"The Nursery"; KABALEVSKY -- "Shakespeare Sonnets"; With pianists Kabalevsky, Shostakovich & Sviatoslav Richter.
M 2028 GERSHWIN (3 Preludes); BLOCH (Nigun); KREISLER (Gypsy Caprice); & Debussy, Respighi, Prokofieff, Villa-Lobos, etc; — BEZRODNY (violinist).
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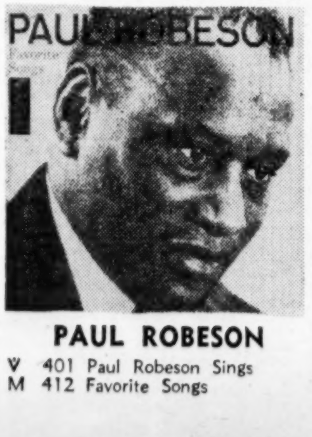
E 109 THEODORE BIKEL: A Young Man & Maid (with Cynthia Gooding) love songs of many lands.
E 132 THEODORE BIKEL: Folk Songs of Israel (in Hebrew).
E 141 THEODORE BIKEL: Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish).
E 161 THEODORE BIKEL: Folk Songs from Just About Everywhere.
F 402 PETE SEEGER: American Folk Ballads
V 403 LEON BIBB: Ballads & Folk Songs
V 404 MARTHA SCHLAMME: Folk Songs of Many Lands
V 405 MARTHA SCHLAMME: Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish)
R 406 BETTY SANDERS: Songs of Robert Burns
V 407 WEAVERS: At Carnegie Hall
V 408 WEAVERS: On Tour
V 409 WEAVERS: At Home
V 410 WEAVERS: Traveling On With The Weavers
F 411 GUY CARAWAN: Songs with Guy Carawan
F 415 PETE SEEGER: Pete Seeger & Sonny Terry

TOPICAL

F 413 PETE SEEGER: The Gazette
F 4'4 Almanac Singers & Pete Seeger: Talking Union, Special, $3.50.



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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

An apple story

In the press of week-to-week news, sometimes the most human and revealing stories get bumped. Such was the fate of Anna Louise Strong's little story which follows here. Despite its wintry setting it has a springlike quality which we finally would like to share with you. Ed.

PEKING

FIVE EXCELLENT APPLES in a very elegant wooden box repose on display in the exhibition of a People's Commune in Fukien, the coastal province opposite Quemoy. They have become symbols of so many lofty emotions that nobody now dares eat them. Here's how:

The apples were grown in North Korea, which is famous for perfect, well-flavored, firm-fleshed apples. They came in carload lots into China last winter when Premier Kim Il Sung made his visit. They were given in quantities to various ministries and offices in Peking.

Post office officials, who got some cases, forwarded some as a gift to postal workers who, as is the practice now in China, were temporarily doing their stint of physical labor in a steel plant. The recipients expressed thanks for the honor, but modestly said it was due rather to the steel workers for "outstanding contributions they had made this year to the country's development." They gave them to the shop committee of the plant.

SINCE THE STEEL WORKERS at the time were collecting New Year's gifts for the "fighters of the Fukien Front," they sent the apples along. In Fukien the Army Headquarters took notice of the fact that these were no longer ordinary apples, but symbols of the "unbreakable friendship" of the Korean people with the Chinese people, and also of the devotion of the Chinese workers to their Liberation Army. They decided to distribute the apples to those units of the army, navy and air force which had distinguished themselves in the fighting around Quemoy.

Five apples thus reached an air force unit on the front on New Year's Eve. A meeting was called to discuss their proper disposal. It was decided that the victories were due to the leadership of the Communist Party and the support of the Chinese people. The air force unit therefore sent them to the local Party Committee which in turn gave them to the peasants.

After several polite exchanges in which peasants, workers and air force each refused to admit their own merit, the apples were given to the People's Commune with the biggest per acre yield. They are now on exhibition. One assumes that the practical peasants will eat them before they spoil.

OTHER APPLES are still making the rounds among army, naval, air force units, with one group after another insisting that other units have greater claim. This may be the result of Mao Tse-tung's exhortation to "be modest."

Lest any people in capitalist lands assume that the refusal implies something wrong with the apples, I personally testify to the unmatched excellence of Korean apples. I was given a basket full at New Year's by the Korean Ambassador. I keep them in the icebox and eat them one a day.

I share them sometimes with honored guests but I feel no urge to donate them to people of superior claim.

I fear my appetite still has a capitalist taint.

—**Anna Louise Strong**

$25,000 'FOR GROCERIES'

Dr. DuBois gets Lenin Peace Prize

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, distinguished historian and frequent contributor to the GUARDIAN, is one of three recipients of the 1959 Lenin Peace Prize, it was announced in Moscow last week. The others were Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Ivor Montagu, British writer. Dr. DuBois, who is 91, reached Moscow from Peking in time for the May Day celebration. He said he would use his $25,000 prize money to "pay the grocery bill."

In an interview he said he had never been a member of the Communist Party, "but I think communism is the best system for all countries after this trip." He and his wife, author Shirley Graham DuBois, have been traveling since August through Europe, Asia and Africa.

Dr. DuBois said he was "quite overwhelmed" at receiving the prize which, as the Stalin Prize, has been given twice before to Americans: Paul Robeson and Howard Fast.

The second novel of a trilogy Dr. DuBois has completed, **The Black Flame**, will be published by New Century next month. It is called **Mansart Builds A School.**